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792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

798 Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gzennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbusur are similar saints. The students of Amsheeh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gzennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[847] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gzennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

● 796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

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who wish to retain their own practices while enjoying the benefits of Islam, they are rigorously observed.

Two such non-Islamic feasts are the *ḥagus* and the *'anṣara*.

The *ḥagus* falls on the 31st of December, according to the old-style calendar to which they adhere.[1] Married men take their wives and children to the homes of their wives' parents, where they remain seven days if they have no children, and three if they have them. They take with them meat, either fresh or cooked, nuts, honey, and other food. They never include animals for slaughter. In the central Riffian area the men bring sausages prepared for the occasion.[2] During this feast they wander among the houses of friends bringing presents of food.

A branch of fir or cedar is hung up over each door, and more branches and almond flowers are tied to the rafters. This is a time of feasting and merriment, with little or nothing to indicate the usual religious attitude. At night a dramatic presentation is given, similar to that of the *Aid el Kebir*.[3]

Westermarck associates the *ḥagus* with the celebration of the New Year.[4] He finds that in other parts of Morocco it is observed a day later, on the first of January.[4] The tribes celebrating the *ḥagus* are the Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, Temjunt, Ikaroen, Beni Tuzin, and all Senhaja. According to Westermarck the *ḥagus* is found throughout the Jebala,[5] hence its distribution in the Rif seems to tie up with the country to the west.

The *'anṣara* comes on the 24th of June, old style.[6] On this day the Riffians cut a twig from every kind of tree they can find, both wild and cultivated. They also cut stalks and leaves of all plants and herbs with which they are acquainted. Bringing these together they make piles of them, and after the sun has set, light the piles and jump over them through the smoke, which is plentiful on account of the green wood. Everyone jumps twice — men, women, and children, mothers holding their babies in their arms while leaping. When all have jumped the men go to the nearest stream and wash thoroughly every part of their bodies. The women and children go into the houses and do the same with bowls of water. This is called *siarth ẖudeshth*, or the washing-out of the "Jewishness," or "Jewess."[7] The explanation of the ceremony is that the fires are lit in honor of a Jewish prophet of old, and that all traces of "Jewishness" must then be removed.[8]

This practice is found everywhere in the Rif except among the Nomads and Maritime tribes, and throughout the Jebala to the Atlantic; the only place where I have witnessed it

[1] In this I am relying upon Westermarck, since my own data concerning the date are inexact. See Westermarck, pp. 161–162.

[2] See p. 60. [3] See pp. 152 sqq. [4] Westermarck, pp. 160–161.

[4] For a detailed description of this ceremony and a discussion of its significance, see Westermarck, pp. 160–174.

[5] Again I am relying on Westermarck (p. 182).

[7] Westermarck (p. 180) says that they wash out the "Jewesses," but does not give the Berber equivalent. H̱udeshth might be translated "Jewess" as well as "Jewishness."

[8] While I was travelling through the Atlas in 1926, two Riffians attached to the expedition attended services at a synagogue in the mellah of Zerukten, in order to satisfy their curiosity and also to obtain some of the strong drink being served as part of the ceremony. After returning from the synagogue they expressed strong remorse for their action, and declared that it would take forty days for the "Jewishness" they had contracted to wear off. Each day for forty days they calculated how many more days they had to go, and when the fortieth day had passed expressed great delight. They said that should they die before the expiration of that period, they would be buried as Jews and considered as Jews on Judgment Day.

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is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Muhud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 196–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 135–158.

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There are eight rôles enacted by the *ishuikhen*; the Christians, the Christian women, the Jews, the Jewish women, the animals, their drivers, the Muslimin, and their wives. Those representing Christians imitate Christian clothing as best they can with cloth tied, not sewed together. They stick on moustaches of goats' hair, and put on leggings of grass matting. They carve great hats with broad brims out of yucca blades, make bandoliers from split strands of it, and attach small mirrors to their breasts in imitation of medals.

The "Christian women" imitate luxuriant hair with the woolen braids used by Riffian women. On top of their heads they attach white cloths with feathers sticking out of them. A yucca-cord belt is tied around the waist so tightly that it can be drawn in no farther, and onions or pomegranates are thrust under the shirt to look like breasts.

The "Jews" wear long beards of wool stuck on with a mixture of flour and eggs. They drape long white or black cloths around their bodies and tie red or black kerchiefs on the backs of their heads.

Those representing Jewish women wear long black cloths reaching to the ground.

The "animals," — lions, jackals, donkeys, cows, calves, and dogs — wear tails to which have been tied feathers and tufts of goat hair. The "donkey" wears over his face a donkey skull so cut as to allow his face partly to enter it. The "dog" has a long muzzle made of cork, wood, or cloth, and often has a jackal skin tied on his back. The "lions" disguise their faces only by smearing them with black and red pigments. A wooden phallus with onions or pomegranates for testes is attached to each "animal" excepting the "cow," who has a cloth udder with pendant cloth nipples fastened about his groins, and wears real cow horns tied to his head.

Those playing the parts of Muslimin wear large scrips full of ashes, representing gunpowder, and carry wooden rifles. The Jews and Christians carry these as well, and some of the latter drag log cannons.

The most effeminate looking youths are chosen to represent the wives of the Muslimin. They shave, use rouge and kohl, and draw the conventional tattoo marks on their faces with ink. They wear earrings and false hair.

The identity and preparations of the actors are kept secret beforehand. The *ishuikhen* dress and make up in the mosque or in a predetermined house; when ready they enter the houses of the *bone*, one after another, and stage their performance. Crowds follow them from house to house and witness the act over and over again.

First the Jews and their wives come in. They pair off in couples and dance over the floor, carrying on ribald conversation, snatching away each other's wives, approaching with wooden phalli, the women dancing with other men and throwing ashes out of scrips at each other.

After this has gone on for some time the Jews hold a wedding. While this is in progress the donkey and his driver enter. The Jews set the bride upon the donkey's back, and the donkey throws her off, whereupon the Jews become angry and shout incoherently. They then kneel down to hold a prayer, which a Judge leads. The Judge faces west and the Jews in all directions. In the prayer the Judge expounds the *harram* and the *ḥallal* in a loud voice, reversing everything from its normal condition, calling it permissible to eat pork, permissible to commit adultery with a good-looking woman, and forbidden to do so with an ugly one. The extent of these *harram* and *ḥallal* distinctions is limited only by the imagination of the Judge.

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While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporized sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamazighth* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afarit* and the *shaiyaṭin*. This class also includes the *thajinnishth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying.

796 leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart baraka to the butter.

796 736 [99] When Ramadan has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which [100] obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sidi Halil says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called fitr, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramadan or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proporionate to the number of dependents comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one sa'—that is, slightly less than half a bushel—for each Muhammadan member of it. It is said in Morocco that if no fetra, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth.

796 [101] Among the Ait Waryager the fetra of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the fetra consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramadan, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called rmudd ne nnbi, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthen ware; and absent and [102] deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The fetra is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the fqi, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the fetra to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The fqi gives one portion of the fetra of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the fetra of his own household.

[106] On the tenth day of the month Du 'l-hijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it l-'id l-kbir, "the

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are par ken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, nasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

1 [1 e-sacrificial.- Analyst]

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade 787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

●796 805 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (i-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before [515] sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one;
245 dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a
796 grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Isrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the [114] Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the [788] text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [782] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment: the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[196] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

585 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the
221 giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the
241 first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop.
[461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness
[999] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is
[262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is
[556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of
[581] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which
[471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps
231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is
796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

231 There are practically no communal events,
996 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 785 [574] [432] [431] [794] Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men [782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and distribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 794 Before turning from religious activities to magical practices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

• 796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128
443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom